

ГАЗЕТА УКРАЇНСЬКОГО
СТУДЕНТСТВА КАНАДИ
25 ЦЕНТІВ

Січень, 1975

VOL. 8 NO. 31

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DISCUSSION PAPER ON UKRAINE

THE UKRAINIAN BILLY THE KID



EASTERN & WESTERN SUSK CONFERENCES

SUSK's annual Eastern Conference promises to be a novel approach to the issues that SUSK has been involved with for the past 7 years, namely, multiculturalism and the question of Ukraine.

Scheduled for February 22nd and 23rd in Ottawa, the theme is: "Government: Issues and Tactics," with a definite emphasis on tactics. Speakers from SUSK, along with the Secretary of State, Multi-

cultural Programme and External Affairs, have been invited to speak on the methodology of lobbying, pressure methods, and formal information channels. This

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СТУДЕНТ

STUDENT ETUDIANT

"Студент" — місячник українського студентства Канади.

Горосно вислати всі статті й листи на адресу редакції:

394 Bloor St. W. Suite 4, Toronto Ont.

Думки висловлені в поодиноких статтях не обов'язково відповідають поглядам редакції чи видавництва.

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DEFENSE CAMPAIGNS

The past year has witnessed a great deal of action on the issue of political dissidence in the Soviet Union. Various youth groups and committees persistently confronted governments and media with the resulting extensive publicity and substantial support from the different sectors of society.

Whereas in the past years there was evidence of a distinct division between the program of action put forward, and the action itself, recent developments in the groups and committees tends towards a balance of the two. Emotional name-calling at somewhat spontaneous demonstrations is replaced with a programme of speaker tours, conferences, seminars and workshops. Compromises are becoming more evident between the various groups within the Ukrainian Canadian community. For the first time groups of diverging opinions are collectively co-ordinating and sponsoring future action on the question of dissidence in Ukraine.

Perhaps the one and only important point on which the groups agree is the necessity of defending all political prisoners struggling for democratic and social rights.

Currently, a Toronto based group has begun a campaign in defense of Leonid Plyushch. The decision to pick L. Plyushch as a case to be highlighted in defense work is motivated both by the prisoner's misfortune (which is as bad as that of Moroz) and by his impeccable biography. He is a mathematician, known and respected by the Moscow group of dissenters and has been involved with them in the struggle for legal and civil rights for some time.

The fact that the West as yet lacks any substantial literature written by the dissenter is a disadvantage in presenting him vividly to the Canadian public but is also an advantage in a defense campaign which concentrates on an individual's human rights and the judicial farce of which he is a victim.

The issue is clear-cut in this case (without the culture versus politics complication of the Hnatuk action) and should elicit support and publicity from all sections of Canadian society.

THE NATIONAL

AND

THE SOCIAL

The vexing question of the relative importance of national and social rights is a bogus problem. The struggle for the improvement of man's condition in an unjust and oppressive twentieth century involves his welfare as a whole: psychological and social, spiritual and material, national and international. Just as it is impossible to imagine social justice without national justice, it should be impossible to imagine a happy nation without social justice.

Too much stress on the national leads to a policy of ethnic cultural or linguistic exclusiveness which is self-defeating. A modern nation must allow for the co-existence of various cultures, ethnic groups, races and languages within its boundaries.

A mature national consciousness should include an awareness of social problems and vice versa. A large number of groups working on every aspect of Ukrainian political life and a vigorous debate on important questions is not a sign of dissipation of energy. On the contrary, in a mature, healthy and well-developed political life this should be taken for granted.

In February Phil Berrigan and Terry Little will tour Canada speaking on the question of the political opposition in Ukraine. One hopes that this will further stimulate the ongoing debate within the Ukrainian community and outside it.

Letters to the editor

Dear Friend:

I am writing to you about a very serious matter that was recently brought to my attention by a member of the Chilean resistance who had to escape from the country several weeks ago to save his life. The matter concerns the activities of the Argentinian Ukrainian ABN group.

Shortly after the Chile military putsch, the above mentioned Ukrainian group, sent a delegation to welcome Pinochet's arrival to power. It was a large delegation (Ukrainian national costumes, flags, etc.)

The delegation thanked Pinochet for saving Chile 'from chaos', and pleaded with that "great man" to intervene on the world arena on behalf of Ukrainian political prisoners, and the Ukrainian cause in general. The delegation received massive publicity — television, newspaper coverage etc. It was of course very convenient for Pinochet to have such a delegation arrive and explain to the population of Chile how grateful they should be to Pinochet who delivered them from such an evil fate.

This occurred in October, several weeks after the putsch. It is not necessary to go into detail about the situation in Chile, you know it as well as I do. Let us just summarize Pinochet's achievement after a few days in power: 30,000 executed, and 50,000 imprisoned. Chile is a small country. If we take these figures and compare what the equivalent would be for Ukraine — 150,000 murdered, and 250,000 imprisoned — that is in a few days! Stalin would be green with envy.

The fact that the Argentinian ABN went out of its way to welcome the butcher Pinochet to power, and solicit his support deserves unequivocal condemnation from all Ukrainians with a modicum of democratic consciousness. The tragedy of this situation is that these people speak on behalf of the 'whole Ukrainian nation' and drag the name of Ukraine, Ukrainians and the national liberation struggle in Ukraine into the worst type of filth. Let me assure you that this escapade by the Argentinian ABN has left few people in Chile sympathetic to the Ukrainian cause.

I think this is an extremely serious matter which deserves a response not only from individuals, but from Ukrainian organizations committed to democracy and justice. I also think the voice of organized Ukrainian students must be heard on this issue. World public opinion, and in particular the Chilean people must be informed that there are other Ukrainians who sympathize and support their fight against

the military junta and resolutely condemn the actions of the Argentinian ABN WHO HAVE NO RIGHT TO SPEAK IN THE NAME OF THE UKRAINIAN NATION. (The Ukrainian nation, unlike many, has had a bitter taste of fascist invasion with millions deported, hundreds of thousands dead. We above all should know what fascism is about, and extend our warmest support to its victims.)

I propose that you raise this question with your executive and adopt the following course of action:

1) that the SUSK executive establish an ad hoc commission of inquiry to look into this matter. That this commission examine this question in some depth (eg. read the articles of MERCURIO — the official newspaper of the Junta, etc.)

2) that this report be studied by the executive, and on the basis of this report a resolution be drawn and passed by the executive.

3) that any eventual resolution adopted, be circulated to other Ukrainian organizations inviting them to sign the resolution (and this includes the various solidarity-defense committees).

4) that the resolution be sent to all political groups of the Chilean resistance, and also be released to the world press.

5) that the executive consider for publication the report prepared by the commission of inquiry. The proceeds of the sale of this report be given in aid of the Chilean resistance, Chilean refugees.

I realize that within the Ukrainian community this will be very much an 'explosive' issue and that there will be pressure on SUSK to avoid taking such a course of action. But it is exactly this kind of reticence to condemn openly scandalous political behaviour that has led to a situation where the Argentinian ABN's actions remain unchallenged. I hope your executive will act boldly to correct this state of affairs.

Yours sincerely,

B. K.

former SUSK president

® ABN-Anti-bolshevik Block of Nations

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Ukrainians ask Pinochet to defend Moroz

For over a year the Chilean people have been suffering under the most heinous military oppression. The Chilean Junta after overthrowing the Allende government in a bloody coup, announced a state of emergency, and stated that it would continue for an indefinite

period. Augusto Pinochet has been officially named "chief of the nation." He announced that he would rule for five years and perhaps even longer, thus dispelling any ideas of a return to some form of democratic government.

During July and August of this year, the Junta stepped up its program of arresting former UP* supporters. The government has set up a new secret service — DINA — the Board of National Anti-Communist Investigations. The newly appointed assistant director of DINA, Walter Rauff, is a former Gestapo Colonel. Rauff is held responsible for the deaths of thousands in Poland, Yugoslavia, and Ukraine. He was in charge of mobile gas chambers for the Central Office for the security of the Reich, head of the concentration camps at Ravensbruck and Ravensstein, and later director of the security police in Tunisia and Milan.

The achievements of these two men are numerous. After just a few days in power, 30,000 were executed and another 50,000 imprisoned. The DINA continuously searches for militant workers, peasants, and intellectuals, who are ideologically in opposition to the present regime. The living standards of the Chilean people have been consistently worsening even though foreign imperialist powers have been sending economic aid to the Junta. Unemployment is at a record high at 20% which is the highest unemployment rate since the 1930's.

The reason that these atrocities in Chile are being presented now, is because it has come to the attention of the Ukrainian community in North America that a group of Ukrainians had approached the Chilean Junta and asked them to come out in defence of Valentyn Moroz and other political prisoners. They congratulated Pinochet on the first anniversary of the overthrow of the Allende government.

As reported in "Homin Ukrainy," it sounds that the Ukrainian representatives condone the actions of the Chilean Junta in their bloody overthrow of the government in 1973. In the final paragraphs of the article, they give an excuse of why they approached the Chilean Junta. "If someone does not like the existing regime in Chile, let him go to a country whose regime he agrees with, and let

him work there for his 'chosen' regime. Perhaps such a humanitarian and positive stand by general Pinochet will have a great effect on the future of Ukrainian political prisoners in the USSR. Chile, by defending these prisoners in the Soviet Union, becomes our ally in the fight for human rights for all those who are being harassed in Ukraine. Therefore, Ukrainians in the Free World should support the action which general Pinochet has proposed, freedom for Soviet and Cuban political prisoners!"

This approach of the Ukrainians to the Chilean Junta on behalf of Moroz can only be surpassed by the collaboration of some Ukrainians with fascist Germany during the second World War. To approach a government that has consistently since it came into power, refused to allow basic democratic rights to the Chilean people, is abhorrent.



This kind of opportunism on the part of the Junta and the Delegation can not be supported by any Ukrainians in the Free World who believe in the basic ideas of human and democratic rights. In fact all Ukrainians should openly condemn this action and give their support to the resistance in Chile, which is fighting to overthrow this Fascist regime. We Ukrainians have more in common with the resistance, and can be sure that the support from them would be a principled and sincere defence rather than a political ploy by a government to exploit the issue for its own gains.

I.P.

*UP — UNIDAD POPULAR

A unity of different parties which formed the government in Chile before the coup. It ranged from members at the Communist Party to members of the Christian Democratic Party.

multiculturalism AND THE ukrainian worker

Many of the ideas expressed in this paper were those of:

— ANDRIJ SEMOTIUK
— BOHDAN KRAWCHENKO
— MIRKO KOWALSKY

The last decade has witnessed the proliferation of the multiculturalism movement on the Canadian political forum. This movement received its first coherent expression in a maiden speech to the Senate in 1963 by a newly-appointed Senator, Dr. Paul Zuyk. In arguing for the acknowledgement of the recognition of the contributions of the non-English, non-French ethnic-cultural communities to the social, economic and political development of Canadian society, he also articulated a historically based justification for the recognition of these cultural minorities. This was the first statement urging the adoption of ways to ensure the survival and development of these communities, their languages, traditions, folkways, etc. Dialogue began among the leading circles of these communities, culminating in the thinkers' conferences and conferences of Chris-

tians and Jews. Such events constituted landmarks for increasingly frequent attempts to define a doctrine, based on an analysis of Canadian history through the perspective of ethnic-cultural groups and on the assumption of some humanistic value intrinsic to cultural diversity, which would provide a system of action-related-ideas designed to improve the receptiveness of the total social system to a growing cultural pluralism. In 1965, the Pearson Government came out with the terms of reference for the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, evoking criticism from some of the spokesmen of these minority communities, that the framework provided for the Commission was too limited and biased in its analysis of the minority ethnic groups, their historical and structural evolution, etc. The contention was that, viewing Canada

through the perspective of Bilingualism and Biculturalism ignored the multicultural and multilingual reality of the Canadian society and relegated members of minority groups to a second class position. The fourth volume of the Report of this Commission did nothing to dispell these arguments. Lobbying with the government began in the summer of 1970 with the Ukrainian Canadian group taking the lead.

In October 1971, Prime Minister Trudeau pronounced Canada a multicultural country within a Bilingual framework. Despite the seeming responsiveness of both Federal and Provincial governments, all of these attempts (with the exception of Alberta) could at that point be written off as mere pacifying token gestures. On the other hand, we must consider the problems of these communities with specific reference

to the Ukrainian Canadian group, as to why the policy of multiculturalism can not be considered a mass movement.

The doctrine of multiculturalism generally rests on the proposition that the existence of minority ethnic groups with their respective modes of community life should not be considered a transient phenomenon, vestiges of immigrant groups not yet fully adjusted to the Canadian way of life. Instead they should be regarded as integral, viable cultural entities that have struggled to maintain their distinct identities while adapting to the overall milieu and contributing to Canadian social development. The obverse of this is the doctrine rejects the traditional association of "Canadians" with "Anglo-Saxonism", contending instead that to be of Ukrainian descent does not necessarily render one a foreigner.

immigrant or non-Canadian. The basis of this contention is the fact that membership in these groups is for the most part Canadian born. The Ukrainian Canadian Community which ranks among the highest of all cultural minorities in terms of the percentage of its total membership born in Canada, figures in the 80% bracket. It is the prevalence of the popularised idea which implies the equation between being Canadian and speaking English that has been responsible for the creation of an environment largely unresponsive to the existence of these minority groups as integrated yet culturally distinct social entities, and subsequently, for their gradual disintegration.

On the other hand, concrete proposals made to government by spokesmen for the movement were

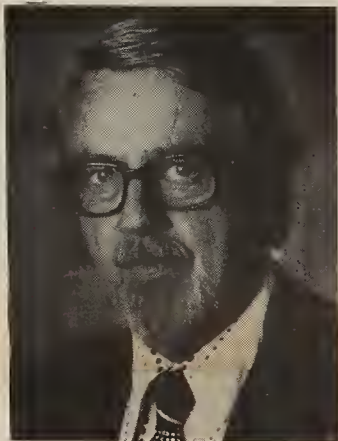
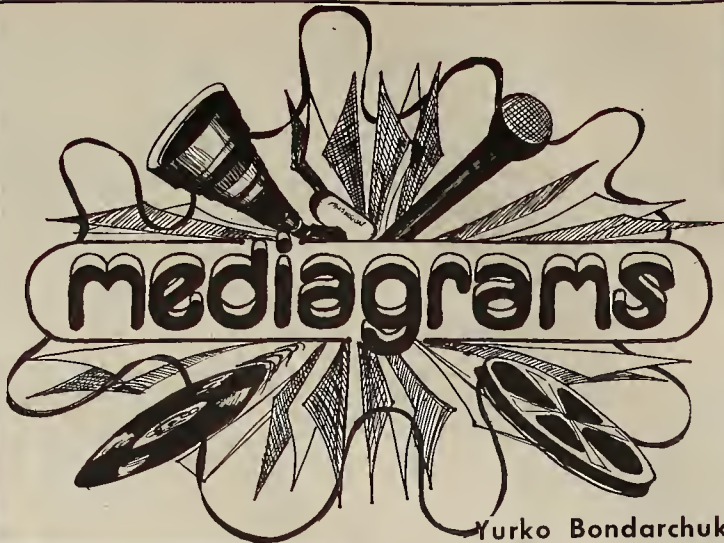
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At Ontario's educational television network, **ONTARIO EDUCATIONAL COMMUNICATIONS AUTHORITY**, (Channel 19-UHF) in Toronto, one of the current programming priorities is in formulating a multicultural programming policy. According to **RON KEAST**, Open Sector Supervisor, numerous multicultural programming proposals are presently being evaluated with the hope of operationalising these by the start of the new fiscal year, April 1st. Already last year, **OECA** had attempted to respond to the everyday problems of integration encountered by new Canadians, with a weekly educational soap opera series called, **CASTLES ZAREMBO**.



Back in November, **PATRICK NOWLAN**, Conservative M.P. (Annapolis Valley), claimed to have inside information that the **CBC** cancelled a television program on former Soviet Premier **NIKITA KHRUSHCHEV** at the request of the **SOVIET EMBASSY**. Regarding rumours that the **CBC** went ahead and advertised the "Khrushchev Remembers" special back in 1972, **CBC** Information section chief **KNOWLTON NASH** said he didn't remember any ads for it, nor was he aware of any instance of the Soviet Embassy exerting pressure. Since then, in a clarifying statement, Nash said, "The program was dropped when negotiations with the distributor, **TIME-LIFE** broke down regarding editing rights." Patrick Nowlan says the issue was brought to his attention when the question of another documentary, entitled **KGB** was raised in private discussions with **CBC** staff. The **BBC**-produced **KGB** documentary, an excellent expose of the Soviet internal secret police was also rejected by the **CBC** and picked up by the independent Toronto station, **CITY-TV**. Meanwhile, the **CBC** produced and broadcast a program called "**THE FIFTH ESTATE**", which alleges certain things against the **NATIONAL RESEARCH COUNCIL** as a **CIA** front.

After Quebec, Ontario, B.C. and Alberta, Saskatchewan is the latest province to set up its educational television network, known as **SASK MEDIA**. Several top level positions are open, including General Manager, Head of Program Development, Production, Program and Distribution Services, as well as various ancillary production and programming posts. Although deadline for application is **JANUARY 31ST**, word has it that qualified candidates will be considered after this date. Apply to **LARRY K. YOUNG**, EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR, **SASKATCHEWAN EDUCATIONAL COMMUNICATIONS AUTHORITY**, 12TH FLOOR, AVORD TOWER, REGINA SASKATCHEWAN. S4P-2Y8.



Lister Sinclair

CBC has announced that former executive vice-president, **LISTER SINCLAIR**, will take over new duties as **VICE-PRESIDENT OF PROGRAM POLICY AND DEVELOPMENT**, beginning January 1st, 1975. In this top policy post, Mr. Sinclair will direct the formulation of current program policy and future program innovation and development. In the summer heat of 1973, Sinclair made headlines with statements like, "**MULTICULTURALISM YES, MULTILINGUALISM NO!**", after banning spoken **GAELIC** from **MACTALLA AN EILEAN**, a 60 minute **CBC** radio program originating from **CBI, SYDNEY, NOVA SCOTIA**. His justification for excluding third language programming is based on Section 3 of the **1970 BROADCASTING ACT**, which contradicts both the **1970 OFFICIAL LANGUAGES ACT**, (protecting non-official languages from discrimination) and the **1971 FEDERAL MULTICULTURAL POLICY**. It seems distressingly ironic that any prospective multicultural and multilingual programming proposals would now require the final approval from Lister Sinclair.

This summer, under the auspices of the **UKRAINIAN CANADIAN UNIVERSITY STUDENT'S UNION**, an **OPPORTUNITIES FOR YOUTH** study, known as the **MULTILINGUAL BROADCASTING PROJECT** attempted to assess the need and desirability for thirdlanguage broadcasting amongst five Toronto non-anglophone communities; **GERMAN, GREEK, ITALIAN, POLISH & UKRAINIAN**. In a preliminary report submitted last month to the federal **MULTILINGUAL BROADCASTING STUDY GROUP**, the findings of the study confirmed the need and desire for multilingual broadcasting, and recommended, among other things, a **CRTC** policy implementing third language broadcasting via special **CBC**-operated **UHF** and **AM-FM** channels, as well as government sponsored access to **CABLE TELEVISION** facilities. An in-depth report on the study in the next issue.

It seems that the best well-kept secret these days in Canada is the price-tag for **CBC's** new identification symbol. **CBC SYMBOL PROJECT COORDINATOR, JACK LUSHER**, claims that implementation costs for the symbol are surprisingly low, despite rumours to the contrary, with estimates ranging from **5 to 20 MILLION DOLLARS**. Even the designing firm, **BURTON KRAMER ASSOCIATES** of Toronto, which also designed the **CANADIAN NATIONAL RAILWAYS** logo, is keeping a tight lid on the project. Whatever the price to Canada's taxpayers, the new symbol is undoubtedly attracting a lot of attention, leaving most people wondering, what does it represent? The official **CBC** interpretation goes something like this; The central **C**, representing **CANADA**, along with the other partly-obscured **C's** dispersing towards the perimeter,



It's cute. . . . what is it?

reflects Canada's unifying communications system spreading out to all corners of the country. Regardless of whether the symbol looks more like a cross between a psychedelic pompegrenate and a Tex-made sheet pattern, let us hope that **CBC's** new external image will herald realistic internal programming policies, i.e. multilingual programming. Incidentally, the intricate 3½ second television animation of the symbol was produced by **VLADIMIR GUTSULMAN**, the Russian-German president of **CINERA PRODUCTIONS** in Toronto.

In a recent surprise move, management at **CHIN RADIO** in Toronto has unceremoniously shifted the weekly Ukrainian youth programs; the **ODYM, MYNO** and **UKRAINIAN STUDENT'S PROGRAM** from the traditional late Saturday morning timeslots on **AM** to the less than desirable early Saturday evening slots on **FM**. Could

it be that **ZENNIA MENDEL-UK'S** refusal to run any promos for the recent **DMYTRO HNA-TIUK'S** concert on her daily **PROMETHEUS PROGRAM** is instrumental in management's unjustifiable action? Tsk tsk **CARL REDHEAD!**

Toronto's **CITY-TV** (Channel 79 - UHF), renowned for its breakthrough in multilingual broadcasting, now offers over 20 hours of weekly programming in **ITALIAN, GREEK, PORTUGUESE AND CHINESE** languages, or roughly 30% of its total weekly output. At present, applications for programming slots from the **POLISH, RUSSIAN, GERMAN, MACEDONIAN AND DUTCH** communities are seriously being considered. In view of this, it seems inconceivable that the Metro Toronto Ukrainian community, with a market potential of over 75,000 viewers, along with a strong economic base, has up till now failed to generate any serious pecuniary commitment to this essential community project.



Syny Stepiv

In the wake of the recording success of Montreal's **RUSHNYCHOK** orchestra, many of that city's folkloric music ensembles are also entering the lucrative market of the growing **UKRAINIAN RECORDING INDUSTRY**. Among these is youngfolk singer, **LUBA KOWALCHYK**, who last summer cut her debut Ukrainian 45 single, **KAZKA**, and the popular Ukrainian band **SYNY STEPIV**, (Sons of the Steppes) whose first album is now in second pressing as a result of the volume of initial sales. **YEVSHAN FOLKLORIC PRODUCTIONS** director **BOHDAN TYMYC**, who produced the recordings, believes it's only a question of time before Ukrainian folk-styled music hits the English **TOP 40**. In the meantime, **YEVSHAN FOLKLORIC PRODUCTIONS** is considering further recording endeavors with **LUBA KOWALCHYK, THE PROMINIA SEXTET, TRIO KONVALIA** and **CHEREMOSH ORCHESTRA**, as well as scouting talent in Canada in an attempt to produce a live recording of the existing Ukrainian bands. Send resumes and demo-tapes to **YEVSHAN FOLKLORIC PRODUCTIONS, P.O. BOX 125, MONTREAL, P.Q. H2E 3L9**.

We would joyously appreciate any comments, items, info, etc. involving tv, radio, film, and recording, you might feel inclined to contribute to **MEDIAGRAM**. Keep smiling. **MEDIAGRAM, c/o STUDENT** 394 Bloor St., W. Suite #4, Toronto, Ontario.

Ihor Kordiuk



ЯК Я МАЛЮЮ

Спонука, яка первісно викликає дію, втрачає в робочому процесі своє значення. Виринають інші площини свідомості, все логічне й раціональне унедієнюється. У наш час є наївне все в нашій свідомості. Тим часом, як я "знаходжуся" коло предметів, укладаю їх у структуру образу, я переживаю драматичні конфронтації, а також ідосагаю гармонійних співзвучностей, заглиблююся в розвиток й еволюцію мистецтва, прискорюю їх процес вивершення. У цій співгрі або конфронтації матерії й духа розкриваються нові, несподівані форми вислову. Невідоме просвітлюється, дотепер не існуюче стає ясним. Створення суб'єктивної, тепер наявної істини вимагає інтеграції й піднесення на один рівень мистця, інструменту й матеріалу. З цієї рівноправної синтези витворюються нові можливості, щоб подолати наявні вихідні пункти. У динамічному прагненні до руху, до акції, у нашому нервовому прагненні до відкриття ми пізнаємо взаємопов'язання в природі. У її застиглій формі, виломані з природного циклу, ми пізнаємо істини нашого становлення.

Речі, матерія, фарби — розкладені, перекриті, витругані, розірвані, перешитовані. Я розрізую полотно, зашнуровую розтин, інший — лишую розчепіре-ним.

При першому робочому прийомі я працюю фізично. На зміну автоматичному, медитативному, несвідомому процесові малювання приходять надсвідомий контроль.

Народження образу стає ритуалом. Банальні предмети, все схопне — стає одночасно знаряддям і матеріалом. Прискорити постійну зміну матерії, перетопити її в її суперечностях, упорядкувати у відповідній пропорції й часу її хаотичний стан, переформувати, щоб вона застигла в її найяснішому вислові. Медитація й концентрація перед поставою, щоб з непервинності й спокою спроектувати на тому невідкично вичакловану формулу. Шрифти. Символічний вислів для подолання і розуміння матерії, в її природному, але й позначеному впливом людини циклі руху.

Я підношу творчу дію до ритуалу, поставлю твір — до продукту, який залишає глядачеві все відкритим, викликає в нього поштовх думки. Аналізувати це лишається справою критиків. Для мене воно є справою закінченою.

Я малюю не на те, щоб постало зрозуміти чи знайти щось в готовому творі. Своїми картинками й об'єктами я ставлю нові вихідні пункти, висвітую нові питання.

Цей текст переклад з німецького з останньої виставки в Мюнхені — серпень-вересень 1974 р.

Ігор Кордюк

дивуюсь
чи мені буде веселіше
чи серце стане легоньке
і полетить на крилах волі
попід небеса
без тебе

чи тобі буде сумно
чи твої сльози
будуть гірко литися
вічно, вічно
без мене

думаю
що тобі не важко
моє відчуження
бо є інші які
для тебе живуть

думаю
що без тебе моя рідна
я загину без спів
без думок
без душі

BUT ESPECIALLY TO YOU

to that warming touch caressing smile
generous mother in the sky

to the cherished company of the stars
source of yesterday destiny of tomorrow

to the nocturnal journey of elusive encounters
through worlds of curved alphas spaceless time

to the virtuosos of thought and sound
electronic minstrels of our time

to the symphony of sounds we cannot hear
spectrum of visions we cannot see

to allan watts who asked does it matter
only to discover he already knew the answer

to the lingering memory of inviting glances
muguet fragrances intimate whispers tender embraces

to the generations of ancestral freedom
making this whole experience possible

BUT ESPECIALLY TO YOU

making this whole experience laughable

on a day of reflection Yurko Bondarchuk

25/12/74

TWO PRISONERS

BY

phillip berrigan



In an age threatened with mass revenge of the doomsday variety, it seems ridiculously redundant to assert that neither a Christian nor a Satyagrahi can have anything to do with revenge. And yet perhaps, nothing needs stating more.

Both Christ and Gandhi forbade revenge because it violated the truth of human unity under God's Parenthood, and because it mistook violence as a solution to marginal conflict (All conflict is marginal, none essential.)

And so, just as one must forego revenge individually, one must also forego it socially or politically. One cannot heat up an insulting neighbor, one cannot send people to jail.

Between morality and fact, however, lies a great distance — the fact being American and Russian obsessions with jails, prisoners and especially, political prisoners. Directly or indirectly through client regimes, the Superpowers have virtually cornered the market, a fact which illustrates glaringly the nature of a Superpower, which becomes itself by virtue of the lie, bullet, bomb, spy and lockup.

Nonetheless, the Superstate is the institutional product of the people's somnambulism, amnesia and greed. And so, the abuse accorded political prisoners is ultimately, the people's abuse, and a yardstick of our revengeful childishness.

Pham Tri Thu personifies the manner in which our inhumanities evolve into policy. Thu, 33, released from Bien Hoa Prison in early 1973, was arrested in March, 1968, wounded on the right ankle. He was interrogated, tortured and threatened with amputation. Forty-eight hours later, the lower third of his leg was amputated. Attempts at interrogation continued, so did torture, and ten days later, his leg was again amputated, this time at the upper third.

We can guess that Thu was an insurgent, captured after being wounded. He was among 598 political prisoners examined by medical teams

at their release by Saigon, under our provisions of the Paris Peace Accords.

Saigon, under our patronage, employed torture against all 598, all the women in the group had been raped; all had been tortured in the genital region. Examination disclosed frightful injuries of a gynecological nature.

But most shockingly, 87 of the prisoners were tortured on wounds. This was but one of those. In some cases, kerosene was poured on stumps and wounds set afire. In the course of interrogation and torture, barely knit bones were broken afresh, nerves pinched, muscles laid bare.

If a prisoner satisfied the interrogators, crippling might be avoided. If not, beatings became the rule, culminating with the threat of amputation. Thu, slightly wounded and able to stand at capture, was left with a thigh stump after two amputations.

Thu's stump is a symbol which looks backward at the arrogant status of Superpower and the grisly price paid for it. Those who pay it most terribly are the victims of imperial wars and pogroms, and political prisoners. The Superstate is no more than a cross mobilization of privilege — a mobilization whose essence is the crippling of a helpless prisoner. By majority world standards, the privilege is swollen and princely. But the suffering is colossal.

One commentary on the role of the United States as Superpower is the fact that we jail, through our mercenary regimes in Saigon, nearly half of the world's political prisoners. The figure might hover near 250,000, including thousands of children. These political prisoners, like our war still ravaging South Vietnam and Cambodia, express the non-negotiable nature of imperial privilege. Privilege is non-negotiable; so is total war, starvation, rape, electric shock, torture on wounds. Deathdealing is good

business — so we have discovered. And nobody turns a buck with the facility of Americans.

II

In the Soviet Union, treatment of political prisoners varies only superficially. To be sure, the Soviet brutalize their critics more crudely, and with far less deviousness and rationalization. Moreover, with them, the imprisonment and torture of political prisoners is not a regrettable footnote to foreign investment. It is so "with us, with regrets voiced only infrequently."

Valentyn Yakovych Moroz is a Ukrainian historian and nationalist, perhaps the most important political prisoner today in the Soviet Union. What makes him so are two characteristics: a clear, probing mind and secondly, his unrelenting resistance to judicial violations by the KGB (the Soviet political police), and to the inhuman reality of the Soviet penal system.

First arrested in 1965, while finishing his doctoral thesis, Moroz served 5 yrs. in Mordovian prison camps for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda." Released in 1969, denied employment, he was re-arrested in June, 1970 and again sentenced illegally on the same bogus charges — this time to 9 yrs. prison and 5 yrs. exile.

Doubtless, the KGB has it "in" for Moroz. (He called it a "parasite" apt to "devour even the despot who reared it.") As his second prison term began, the KGB placed him among common criminals in Vladimir prison and incited them against him. One stabbed him four times in the stomach — the wounds required surgery. Following a limited recovery, his torturers threw him into isolation and administered brain damaging drugs. The hunger strike he began on July 1st of this year was partly a protest against the illegality of his imprisonment. But it was also a desperate measure to save his mind.

By resistance standards in the United States, Moroz was somewhat of a curious case. Ideologically, we would label him a constitutionalist (constitutionalists rarely resist in this country). But Moroz resisted, standing by the Soviet Constitution and its guarantees of dissent, due process, and the right of secession for republics like the Ukraine. That put him squarely in opposition to "Russification," or the Stalinist trend to homogenize citizens into cogs. A victim of two illegal "in camera" or "closed trials," Moroz carried his resistance into prison, where he wrote this classic REPORT FROM THE BERIA RESERVE. (Cataraet Press, Chicago, 1974).

Finally, Moroz is a cultural nation-

alist of deep Christian roots, acutely sensitive of the religious contribution to Ukrainian identity, ethnic cohesion and folklore. According to him, one spiritual factor stands between Ukrainian solidarity and absorption by the Russians — Christianity. An essay in the REPORT deals with this awareness.

Now, he hovers near death, force-fed intravenously. His wife is denied access to him on any regular basis; she is ruthlessly harassed by the KGB, and is reduced to depression and paranoia by persecution and anxiety for him. All this happens under the most obvious and obscure pall of official misinformation and falsehood. With the release of the REPORT to the West, his resistance (and his book) may have cost him his life.

III

I wish to quote from the REPORT because I found it universally striking, as applicable to Americans as to Russians. Basically, it is an attack upon the totalitarianism of culture (or lack of culture), and its fearsome capacity to homogenize people through materialism, propaganda, police intimidation and official power-grubbing. Once homogenized, people become ripe for takeover by the looters and bagmen of the American or Russian oligarchies.

The cog empowers the tyrant; the tyrant molds the cog. They are the twin poles of barbarism; together they can generate fantastic levels of suffering destruction. Moroz on "cog": "Stalin", he writes, "is the creator of the cog — he invented the programmed man. It is not difficult to imagine how much stronger this desire was 20 years ago when people were eyewitnesses to mass executions and other horror, where one did not know in the evening where he would end up in the morning. The desire not to be conspicuous in any way, to merge into the mass, to resemble the next person in order not to attract attention, became universal. This meant the complete erosion of individuality. At one time the separation of the individual from the mass of matter meant the birth of life, the origin of the organic world. Now the reverse process began: the merging of individuals into a grey mass, a return to a massive non-organic, non-individual existence. Society was overcome by the spirit of grey facelessness. To remain an individual was considered a crime. 'Who are you, a special person?' I have had to listen to this question a dozen times before and after my arrest." (p. 22)

He continues: "A cog is the

dream of every totalizer. An obedient herd of cogs can be termed a parliament or an academic council and it will not cause any worries or surprises. A cog titled professor or academician will never say anything new. A herd of cogs can be termed the Red Cross and it will count calories in Africa but say nothing of famine at home. A cog will shoot whomever he is ordered to, and then at any order will fight for peace. Last and most important, it is safe to introduce any constitution and grant any rights after transforming people into cogs." p. 25

How does such a Stalin maintain a nation of cogs? "Freeze it — freeze it by icecold terror, by building a giant refrigerator for human minds. Execution within 3 days after arrest, mysterious disappearance during the night, execution for failing to fill quotas, camps like Kolyma from which there is no return — these are the bricks with which Stalin constructed his Empire of Terror. Terror filled the nights and days; terror hung in the air; a single mention of it paralyzed the brain. The objective was achieved; people were afraid to think; the human brain ceased creating its own criteria and standards, and regarded it as normal to accept them ready made. Despotism begins when people no longer regard coercion aimed at them as evil, but begin to think of it as a normal state of affairs." p. 21

Whatever Russians or Americans might think of Moroz, saint, hero, manhan (or any mixture of the three) he is no cog. And the reason for that is simple. He struggled against intimidation by the Terror, its freezing of his brain, its will to reduce him to a cipher.

He closes the REPORT with this simple quotation, "Truth has long arms." Obviously, he believed that Truth was stronger than terror; that it mysteriously guided the universe and humanity; that it could empower one person to stand against those who kill the body but only that The Russian mandarins, and their KGB barbarians know this, and their powerlessness in face of it. And so the dilemma becomes theirs and not Moroz's — free him or kill him. Either way, Moroz wins. Indeed, "truth has long arms!"

But reflection on Moroz proves useless we turn "cogs," "grey facelessness" and "terror" against ourselves in light of the cultural enslavement of this society. There is only numb silence from Americans today at the national obsession with death — 100 billion annual military appropriations, perpetual



war in Indochina, Schlesinger's initiatives in dunnage weapons, 250,000 political prisoners in South Vietnam, food as weaponry against the starving — the whole range of bloody, imperial expediency from Chile to the Middle East.

When it comes to violence as policy and as control, the power-mongers are having their way — as Nixon had his way; as Ford, Kissinger and the Junkers of the National Security Council are having their way. What are we if not "frogs" frozen into "grey facelessness"? Nor is "terror" needed to freeze us there.

In the U.S. there hasn't been any recent terror worthy of the name. This country exports its terror; while the Soviets keep theirs at home against dissenters. This country exports it, as it did against the Japanese in 1945, against the Koreans, Dominicans and Indo-Chinese later.

Granted, we've had Hoover's Counterintelligence Program of 1968 and Nixon's Huston Plan of 1970 but even fish entrapped in these various nets (it happened to be) and revived comparatively mild sentences and virtually no torture beyond the ordinary humdrum of prison existence.

Granted, we have our political police in the FBI, the CIA, military intelligence and local "red" squads. Granted, we have so many political police that they stumble over one another, even snipe upon one another out of boredom but no informed person call them "terror." The courts, bad as they are, have exposed their ineptitude and posturing repeatedly — recall Har-

riehing, Camden, Gainesville and Wounded Knee. So it's not terror that brings on the night sweats for us; it's not terror that induces fearfulness of the victims; it's not terror that produces consensus about impotence and the futility of impotence.

No, it's not terror that inhibits us and programs us; it's our tenacious hold upon the deception of violence; it's our modest share of the great, violent grabbing that makes up the American experiment in imperial capitol. It's that illusion that makes terror unnecessary; that reduces us to grey facelessness.

In fidelity to instruction from the State, Americans cherish what they consider differences between life here and life in the Soviet Union. They speak passionately of "freedom" here and totalitarianism there. But essentially, life does not differ in either. Superstate — there, "grey facelessness" is imposed; here, it is chosen. Then the State enforces one into numb neutrality; here, the culture entices one into the same condition.

That is why we must cling to people like Pham Tri Thu and Valentyn Moroz. They remind us that the crime of despotism is fed by the crime of apathy, of captivity to fear, of private and public selfishness. They remind us that slave-masters like Stalin and Nixon equal many willing slaves; and that to give moral anguish like them power over life and death is to invite their whips and shackles. And they give us hope that we too can raise a cry for the victims; that we too can transcend our misery and misanthropy to become people for

others.

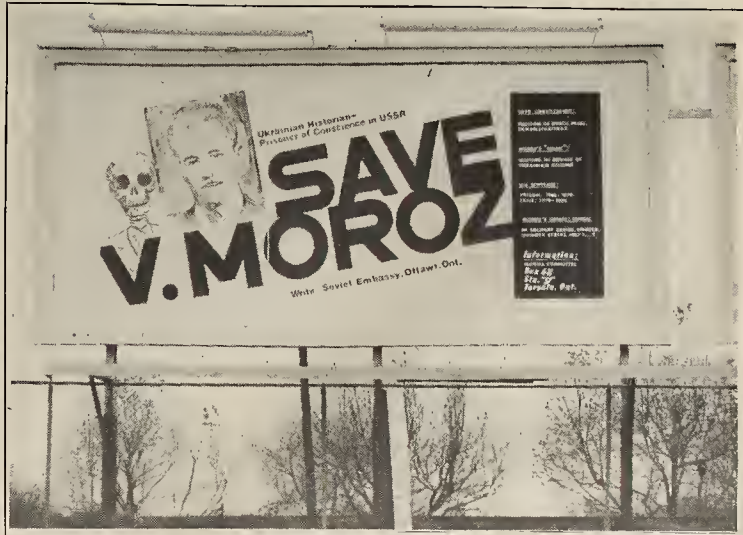
They do one thing other — these political prisoners. They stand as the last rampart between ourselves and total terror. Without these heroic women and men, we have no conscience, no memory, no consciousness and no heart. Without them, we become like Tokhtai's "swarm" or an antheap without the discipline of ants — snickles

or centurions that feed upon one another.

Without them, we will never grasp the imperative fact that liberation is resistance to the State within us, and the State without, and that to embark seriously on that eminent course is to define humaneness, to embody truth, to

rescue — meaning to revitalize and to struggle for the race's survival.

Let me in closing, judge Thu and Moroz by other political prisoners that I have known. Their sole desire is that we possess our lives; that for us also, "truth has long arms," which enfold us with indescribable strength and security — a strength surpassing our own, a security no less than God's.



One of the twenty billboards put out by the Committee for the Defense of Valentyn Moroz last October.

eastern

Continued from page 1

approach is based on the premise that together with an understanding of the philosophy of multiculturalism and a comprehensive analysis of the Ukraine question, an ability to articulate demands on these issues and to aptly present these demands to various levels of government is important in the realisation of community aspirations. Such an approach is timely. In 1968, Roman Petryshyn and Bohdan Kravchenko, then president of SUSK, initiated the philosophy and terminology of multiculturalism, and started a momentum in the community and government which elicited the Liberal Government's Multicultural Policy in 1971. Since that time SUSK has been spearheading an action for the implementation of multiculturalism in legislation. Working on the axiom that culture retention is meaningless without language retention, SUSK correctly focused in on the theory of multiculturalism as inseparable from multilingualism. SUSK has translated this theory into practical aspects for its activities. These aspects have been articulated into demands for multilingual broadcasting on the CBC; Ukrainian language to be offered as credited courses in public schools and universities; development of multilingual programmes for cable-casting (Video-SUSK, 1973); and for a system of sustained grants given by government agencies for community development projects (LIP, OFY...). This de-

tailed framework has given SUSK the longterm continuity needed to prevail over the organizational problems of constant tum-over.

To attain these goals, SUSK has realized that an effective approach is; lobbying with MP's; presenting briefs and position papers to the CBC, the CRTC, the Secretary of State and relevant committees, and working up community spirit through fieldwork projects.

"Sure, we're all for multiculturalism, but what exactly is it you want?" : this query from those in positions of power forced SUSK lobbyists to see multiculturalism in terms of practical, well-articulated demands based on clear-cut goals. This method was instrumental in the CBC action for multilingual broadcasting, when SUSK, in conjunction with KYK, the Canadian Polish Congress, and the Italian Federation presented a critical brief of the CBC at the March hearings of the Canadian Radio and Television Commission; a motion which directly resulted in the formation of a

four-partite Committee to study the format — not the need, of multilingual broadcasting. Without these types of tactics, SUSK would have likely remained at square one over the past four years, simply issuing philosophical statements from the office. It is important at this time that SUSK's lobbying power be diffused throughout the organization, in order that there

Continued on page 10

EASTERN CONFERENCE PROGRAMME

Saturday, February 22nd

10:00 a.m. —

Lubomyr Kuwasnyia (Secretary of State, Multicultural Programme)
Canadian Political Parties and Grassroots Input or What can we, as Ukrainians, do, specifically, about affecting the multicultural policy.

Professor Bociurkiw (member of the Ethnic Advisory Council to the Secretary of State and consultant to External Affairs)
External Affairs: Effectiveness of Informal Pressure Methods and Formal Information Channels.

LUNCH

2:30 p.m.

Myron Spitsky, SUSK President — What specific issues are SUSK's Lobbying Objectives.

Andriy Semotiuk, Initiator of SUSK's CBC Action Committee — The Mechanics of Lobbying.

Lubomyr Diyla (President of the Ottawa Professional and Businessmen's Association; Privy Council member; former Counsel to Australia) — A Programme for the Coalition of Professional Groups in the Ukrainian Community vis a vis Lobbying.

DINNER

8:00 p.m. —

Vechirok

11:30 a.m. —

James Ferrabee (formerly reporter to the Montreal Star, Presently Parliament Hill reporter for Southan Press, advocator of third-group rights) — Political Journalistic View of the Status of non-English, non-French ethno-cultures — An Assessment.

A member from the Secretary of State hierarchy may be present to discuss and defend trends in the Liberal government's multicultural policy.

NOTE: This programme is tentative because it is still at the planning stage.

LEONID PLYUSHCH

Leonid I. Plyushch was born in 1939 in Ukraine. In his youth Plyushch suffered from bone tuberculosis, a condition which has left him a partial invalid. He studied at the School of Physics and Mathematics of Odessa University and completed his graduate work at the Kiev University School of Mechanics and Mathematics. Until 1968 Plyushch worked at the Institute of Cybernetics of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, specializing in bio- and psychocybernetics. He has published several scientific studies. Leonid is married and has two children, a fourteen-year-old daughter and a nine-year-old son.

Active Defender of Human Rights

Together with such notable Soviet intellectuals as academician Andrei Sakharov, physicist Valery Chladnir, historian Piotr Yakir and others, Plyushch was a founder-member of the Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in the USSR. By sending petitions to the Soviet government and various world bodies and organizations, this

group protested the illegal and extra-legal persecution of dissidents in the USSR.

In 1968 Plyushch signed a collective petition in defense of Alexander Ginzburg and Yuri Galanskov, who had been tried in camera and sentenced. In March of that year Plyushch wrote a letter to the editor of *Komsomolskaya Pravda* protesting against their illegal trials and sentences. For this action Plyushch was soon dismissed from the Institute of Cybernetics. He was refused employment elsewhere and remained unemployed until his arrest.

Arrested

On January 14, 1972, Plyushch was arrested on charges under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR ("anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation"). Simultaneously, his wife Tatyana was dismissed from her position with the Ministry of Education where she had been employed for twelve years. These events left Plyushch and his family without any means of support.

In May, 1972, Leonid Plyushch was taken to the Serbsky Institute of Forensic Psychiatry in Moscow for "psychiatric examination". After a short investigation he was diagnosed as suffering from "creeping schizophrenia with messianic and reformist tendencies".

Illegal Trial

In December of 1972 Plyushch was returned to Kiev to stand trial. The trial, which began on January 14, 1973, was held in camera, with only the witnesses for the prosecution in attendance. Not only were the family and friends of Plyushch barred from attending the trial, but Leonid Plyushch himself was not allowed to be present, having been ruled "incompetent" to attend. The psychiatric opinion, mentioned above, was considered by the court which, on January 30, 1973, sentenced Plyushch to confinement in a psychiatric hospital of the "special-regime type" for an indefinite period of time. In effect, the sentence empowers Soviet authorities to keep Plyushch confined in a men-

tal institution for the rest of his life.

At Psychiatric Hospital

Since his sentencing Plyushch has been confined in the Special Psychiatric Hospital in Dnepropetrovsk, Ukrainian SSR (101 Chicherin St.), which has a particularly notorious reputation even among institutions of this type. The director of this hospital is Pruss, an official of the MVD (Ministry of Internal Affairs). Here, Plyushch is being "treated" by means of powerful drugs not in connection with his health, but in order to "eradicate those socially-dangerous psychic deviations from the norm" found in him by the psychiatrists.

Plyushch's Health Deteriorates

Rapidly

In October, 1973, Plyushch was transferred to Ward 9 of the hospital. Thereafter, his health began to deteriorate rapidly as a result of "treatment". During his wife's visit on October 22, Plyushch had difficulty speaking, he convulsively swallowed saliva, and told his wife that he was no longer physically capable of writing letters.

Plyushch in Critical Condition

Due to continued treatment with various drugs, Plyushch has become critically ill. When his wife was allowed to see him again in March 1974 she found him unrecognizable: formerly a thin man, he was swollen with edema, could move his legs only with great difficulty and was completely unable to read or write. According to reliable reports, he is being subjected to insulin therapy with the apparent aim of producing insulin shock. Recent reports indicate that Plyushch is being administered large doses of a drug identified as haloperidol. In December, 1974, Tatyana Plyushch expressed fears that the hospital authorities are "consciously and intentionally murdering" her husband by heavy injections of mind-numbing drugs, one of which she

identified as an anti-schizophrenic drug, trifluaz. She fears that Leonid has become so ill that doctors are afraid to let her visit him.

International Action To Save Plyushch's Life

In February, 1974, a group of Moscow intellectuals, including Andrei Sakharov, appealed to the international community to save Plyushch's life. As a result, the International Committee of Mathematicians in Defense of Plyushch was formed in Paris. Academician Sakharov appealed to the International Congress of Mathematicians, held in Vancouver in August 1974, to defend Plyushch. His letter was addressed to all participants in the Congress, and a petition in defense of Plyushch, signed by 900 mathematicians attending the Congress, was telegraphed to Premier Kosygin. Other Soviet intellectuals, most notably Tatyana Khodorovich and the recently expelled Pavel Litvinov, have also been engaged in an active defense campaign to save Plyushch's life.

Latest Report

In the latest of his now very infrequent telephone communications with the West, academician Andrei Sakharov passed on the most recent information regarding Plyushch in a conversation with the Committee for the Defense of Ukrainian Political Prisoners on December 29, 1974. "As you know, Plyushch's wife was allowed to see him. He has been transferred to a ward for psychopaths containing more than twenty patients who are permanently aggressive. There, no one is able to sleep or rest for even a minute, as the lights are on constantly and the patients are under round-the-clock surveillance. Plyushch's wife is now in the process of starting a court action against the doctors. She asks international jurists and psychiatrists to join in this action, to demand transcripts of the case and to express support for her court action."

Simas Kudirka—sailor who defected

Simas Kudirka was born in Lithuania and worked as a radar operator at sea for twenty years. Unable to acquire a pass which would allow him to enter foreign ports, Simas was transferred onto other boats prior to reaching a port.

On November 23, 1970, Simas was working his regular shift on board a Soviet Lithuanian ship that was scheduled to receive an American delegation to discuss the fishing rights with the Soviets. He had not planned to escape until an incident provoked his decision. When the two ships were at a distance of six feet apart, sailors from both ships began throwing items to each other, exchanging cigarettes, clothing and souvenirs. The Soviet captain watched this without interfering until an American sailor threw over a bundle of American magazines onto the Soviet deck. Soviet sailors scrambled for the magazines and quickly disappeared into their cabins. Immediately the captain gave the order to apprehend the sailors stating that they would never see the sea again. Hearing this Simas walked to the boarding bridge and began to talk to an American sailor. Not knowing if the American understood his intentions of jumping, he wrote a note in English, (which he picked up through his experiences as a radar operator).

The note stated that Simas will jump the ship when the American delegates were back aboard their ship. Simas inserted the note into a cigarette package and threw it to the American. The American received the message and nodded, thereby demonstrating support for Simas' action. By this time Simas was due back at his post and watched the deck until the KGB

officers disappeared. After noticing that the American delegation had already boarded their ship, he immediately leaped into an American lifeboat (which was situated between the two ships) and found himself face to face with a KGB agent. He managed to escape the agent by scrambling aboard the American ship and hiding in a closet. When the American captain became aware of Simas' presence on board, he gave orders for his immediate capture and expulsion. After a lengthy search, he was discovered by KGB agents who thereupon tried to persuade him that life in the West was not "suitable" for someone like Simas. At this point, the Americans quietly exited the room, thereby missing the beating and gagging of the escapee. Simas was taken back to the USSR, charged with treason and given 10 years in labour camps. He spent six months in various camps before he was transferred to Vladimir prison for protesting the cruel treatment of a 19 year-old Ukrainian student, Sopilyak. The youth had been arrested and given 12 years for possessing a Ukrainian flag and a banner with the words, "Wake up Ukraine, you are not a slave!"

Simas was imprisoned in Vladimir prison for 3 months, until it was discovered that his mother was an American citizen. It was only a matter of time until he was finally released to the West, through the efforts of the scientist Sergei Kovalev, a founding member of the Initiative Group for the Defense of Human Rights in Moscow. Kovalev, also a member of the Soviet chapter of Amnesty International, was arrested last December 27. The Chronicle of Current Events, a publication

documenting the arrests and repressive measures of dissidents, was announced by Kovalev last May, that it is restored and being distributed. His arrest was a result of this challenge to Soviet authority. On the eve of the new year, Sacharov made an appeal on behalf of Kovalev for the release of this dissident.

In light of this news about Plyushch, the SUSK National Executive is proposing the following:

- 1) that in the month of February all members of SUSK circulate a petition, among campuses in defence of Leonid Plyushch with the final text and signatures being published in the university press and progressive news papers across Canada, with copies sent to the Prime Minister of Canada, the Chairman of the Supreme Soviet, the Secretary of the CPSU and the Attorney-General of the USSR.
- 2) that literature tables be set up in central locations at all university campuses with the petition in defence of Plyushch, materials on him and other political prisoners and dissidents.
- 3) that in conjunction with the tours across Canada by Phillip Berrigan and Terry Liddle, a massive poster-campaign be conducted in each city and that in conjunction with the press attention given Berrigan and Liddle, the case of Plyushch be brought out in its fullest.

World Congress of Free Ukrainians
Suite 1701
2200 Yonge Street
Toronto, Ontario
M4N 2C6

I refer to your correspondence with the American National Red Cross concerning the internment

of Dr. Leonid Plyushch.

The American National Red Cross has advised us that they have received a report from the Alliance of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies of USSR, and report the following concerning Dr. Plyushch.

"He does not appear in the records of the psychoneurological hospitals in Dnepropetrovsk nor does his name appear in the city records."

Yours sincerely,
E.D. Price
Director
International Affairs



A PROPOSAL FOR AN ALLIANCE OF NON-ZIONIST JEWS

The persistent fascistism exerted upon the Ukrainian nationalist parties by the "solidarity" of the Jewish community is based upon a fiction which fails to take into account the complexities of Jewish cultural, religious and political life.

The rise to political hegemony of the nationalist parties after the war, their gravitation towards reactionary politics and, in recent years, the rising of dissenting voices among young people are paralleled in both the Jewish and Ukrainian communities.

Has Zionism solved the question of anti-semitism for our generation? Can we say that today we are provided with a cover of safety by the mere existence of Israel? The central historic claim made by the Zionist movement since its inception until this very day is that the creation of the Jewish State in Palestine, would provide the only solution to the Jewish Question. Moreover, the left wing of the Zionist movement claimed that the implementation of the Zionist enterprise could lead to the social emancipation of the Jewish workers and farmers, both those in existence and those who emerge through the creation of the state.

Largely on the basis of these claims, the Zionist movement came to command the allegiance and active support of millions of well-meaning humanitarians, liberals, and social-democrats both Jews and non-Jews, throughout the world. The Zionist enterprise has also during its history gained the active support of many powerful institutions, governments, and states which commanded the concrete power to insure the establishment of Israel. In fact, without the support of these, the Zionist enterprise would have remained no more than a utopian fantasy.

Until the holocaust, Zionism had little basis to claim any kind of substantial support among the world-dispersed Jewish population. The historically unparalleled, systematic attempt to physically annihilate the European Jewish population during the Second World War was decisive in their stampede towards Zionism, even though the Zionist leadership refused to fight to open (to Jewish refugees) the doors of even one country - except for Palestine.

In actuality this compliance with the anti-semitic closed-door policy of Canada, of the U.S. and of Britain was the logic of their sectarian loyalty to Zionism and so their programme could not serve the life and death needs of the Jewish people.

The establishment of the state of Israel, and the worldwide activities of Zionist institutions and organizations have only now reached a high level of material power and historical maturity. The time has clearly come to subject these "achievements" to the test of critical analysis and evaluation, from the perspective of those deeply concerned with the liberation and social emancipation of the Jewish people in particular and with social progress, in general.

tigstes the role and impact of right-wing nationalist ideology on the broader issues of social justice and human progress.

The following article questions the Zionist "solution" to the Jewish problem and invests

The author....

Abbie Weisfeld is a graduate student in Political Science at York University in Toronto. He is an active member of the Socialist League and a former member of the NDP. He has a degree in physics and is presently working in the area of Jewish Nationalism.

It appears to us that not only has the Zionist movement failed to advance social goals it claims for its objectives, but moreover its practical effect has created a historic trap for the Jewish people. The Israeli state now faces a prospect of continued war with peoples increasingly unified and organized, with mounting support throughout the world. The consequences can only be tragic. They may likely involve the mutual use of tactical nuclear weapons. What twist of logic considers that the solution to the Jewish question could be realized by the record of the Israeli state? That is:

1. The Israeli leaders have turned their state into a military fortress at war with all the nations surrounding it.

2. The material costs of Israel's war policy have been increasingly loaded on to the backs of Israeli workers (through an inflation rate of about 35% and the devaluation of 43% which has resulted in the current crises) while at the same time a new generation of millionaires has risen to prominence and political power.

3. Israel's "black-skinned" Jews are suffering from oppression and misery in the white dominated social structure.

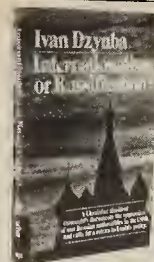
4. Despite Israel's claim to be democratic, it still has in force a series of emergency regulations imposed in its time by British Imperialism and characterized by Zionist leaders at the time of "fascist laws".

5. The Israeli state, since its inception, has been allied with the most reactionary forces on a world scale.

(The Zionist Organization of America can quite correctly state in its open letter to Nixon published in the July 30, 1974 New York Times that, "A secure and strong Israel is vital to our country's global interests. Your administration, Mr. President, has consistently recognized this to be true...What was true before October, 1973, remains true today, Israel still remains the only reliable friend and ally of our country in the Middle East. The de facto alliance between the United States and Israel remains the firm bedrock of our position in the Eastern Mediterranean...)

6. Israel was and remains a militant supporter of U.S. imperialism in South-East Asia and was among the first to extend diplomatic recognition to the brutal military dictatorship of Chile.

For the past period, all Jews have been identified with the Israeli state simply because they were Jews. In fact, a Jew who did not identify with the interests of the Israeli state was considered to be a self-hater. We reject the slander of the Zionist establishment which equates critics of Zionism with anti-semites. We consider the fight against anti-semitism not to be identical with Zionism. In fact Zionism can be seen as an escapist diversion from fighting anti-semitism as shown by the fact that Israel's ally, ex-president Nixon, turns out to be an overt anti-semitic (as shown by the revelations in the Nixon tapes), and America's highest ranking military officer, General George Brown publicly affirmed anti-semitism recently. The reason that critical Jews are considered self-haters is based on the belief, in Zionism ideology, that all non-Jews are conscious or potential anti-semites. Thus any solution to the Middle-East crisis that rejects the view that non-Jews are inevitably anti-semitic but accepts them as potential allies in the struggle against anti-semitism is labelled as being a rejection of Jewishness. As a consequence of this sectarian attitude towards non-Jews, Zionism removes the need to consider the national rights of the Palestinians and in fact engenders a racist attitude towards Palestinians and Arabs in general. While seeking a path to Jewish self-determination, Zionists have denied that very same right to the Palestinians. In place of the "law of return" for every Jew, we would rather seek a solution for Palestinian self-determination and therefore a solution to the continual war in the Middle-East by supporting the "right to return" for every Palestinian instead. Whereas in the past, discussions in Canada of the theory and reality of Zionism has been overwhelmingly weighted in favor of Zionism, the developing contradictions of that point of view and the Mideast situation, especially after the October War, are demanding and producing critical re-evaluation of the propositions that underlie the status quo. We intend to assist in the process of political clarification and to express a non-Zionist opposition to the policies of the Zionist enterprise.



Internationalism or Russification?

By Ivan Dzyuba

"A penetrating philosophical and historical analysis of... the abandoned principles of the Leninist nationalities policy and the corruption of the ideals of true internationalism... An entirely unique addition to the literature available." — *Journal of International Affairs*

"An expert work of research scholarship." — *Slavic Review*

Ivan Dzyuba, a Ukrainian nationalist and internationally known literary critic, has been harassed, arrested, and imprisoned, and has suffered economic reprisals at the hands of the Kremlin bureaucracy for his outspoken defence of the rights of the Ukrainian people, including their right to self-determination, and for socialist democracy for all in the USSR.

After being expelled from the Soviet Writers' Union and denied employment in his profession, he was arrested and sentenced to five years imprisonment. Heavy pressure forced him to recant his ideas, and he was released in November 1973.

Internationalism or Russification? has won international recognition as a major, popularly written work documenting the oppression of national minorities in the USSR.

A Monad Press Book distributed by the Ukrainian Canadian University Students' Union, Index, LC 74-81955, paper ISBN 0-913460-40-0. 288 pp., paper \$2.95 (1.25)

To the Ambassador of the USSR, Ottawa:

I believe in the principle of peaceful coexistence between peoples and states. However, such cooperation and trust can be meaningful only when based on the recognition and implementation of the fundamental rights and freedoms of all individuals.

I consider your government's treatment of Leonid I. Plyushch, the 34-year-old Ukrainian scientist presently incarcerated under the most inhuman and dangerous conditions at the Special Psychiatric Hospital in Dnipropetrovsk, Ukrainian SSR, to be a direct violation of his human rights and a dangerous affront to the principle of peaceful coexistence.

For the sake of the continued improvement of international relations, particularly between Canada and the USSR, I urge your government to restore to Leonid Plyushch his civil and human rights by granting him an immediate release.



LEONID PLYUSHCH

Signature

Address

Clip and Mail TO: ALEXANDER N. YAKOVLEV,

U.S.S.R. AMBASSADOR TO CANADA,
285 CHARLOTTE STREET,
OTTAWA, ONTARIO.
K1N 8L5

Continued from page 7

exist the fullest possible member participation in the community-responsible work of SUSK.

To involve other ethno-cultural communities in working with government institutions for the realization of the goals of multiculturalism, delegations from student organizations of non-French, non-English nationality have been invited to attend. This caucus of student organisations will give cohesiveness of demands among the representatives, resulting in a strong, common position which can be presented more effectively before the government. The caucus could also act as a catalyst whose energy will transmit to the respective ethno-cultural communities. It can thus be seen that working together with other ethno-cultural groups is tantamount to the success of further work in the field of multiculturalism.

Since the conception of our identity as Ukrainian Canadians is necessarily sustained by a life-line with the Soviet Ukraine, SUSK is deeply involved with maintaining that life-line by educational seminars and by printing informative materials on the question of Ukraine. This concern, generated by Ukrainian students, is further exemplified by the actions of several students' clubs in support of Soviet dissenters in the form of hunger-strikes, petitions and appeals to the Canadian and Soviet governments, which have had favourable response if not concrete results.

Demonstrations, hunger-strikes, petitions, and appeals brought into consideration the problematic issue of effectiveness of informal pressure group methods as compared to formal information channels. As work in defence of Soviet political prisoners is of a long-term strategic nature and is gaining increasing commitment from the mushrooming Defence Committees, tactical problematics gain a huge importance. In light of this, a review and discussion of approach methodology, such as will be offered at the Eastern Conference is timely.

Marijka Hurko

THE KID KRAFCHENKO LEGEND



A police photograph widely circulated during the winter of 1913-14.

Printed without permission of the Ukrainian Canadian Historical Date Calendar

During the winter of 1913-14 the City of Winnipeg and all of Canada was startled by series of escapades associated with the name Jack Krafchenko. Born in 1881 in Romania of Ukrainian parents, Krafchenko came to Canada at the age of seven. After his release from the Penitentiary for writing bad cheques, he spent the next few years robbing banks in England,

Germany and Italy. Shortly after witnessing the 1905 revolution in Russia Krafchenko returned to Canada where he continued his activities. He became implicated in a murder and was eventually thrown in prison, where he escaped. An award of \$11,000.00 was posted for the fugitive who was caught in July of the same year and hung by the neck.

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Continued from page 3

typically the following: introduction of minority languages in the educational system as language of instruction, use of minority languages in CBC Broadcasting and NEB Film Production and private and public radio programming; financial government support of the ethnic press. Other proposals involved the government financing of community development schemes, ethnic organisations and public aid in the establishment of a uni-

versity to specialize in minority languages and related cultural studies. In general, the doctrine demands that the society's resources be distributed equitably among all cultural groups so that the growth of one is not to the detriment of another.

The converse of this whole issue is the question to what extent is an individual's ethnic origin capable of affecting his or her opportunities for free mobility within the overall social, economic and political

structures of society? The exponents of multiculturalism frequently point to the existence of a subjective problem of marginality which often confronts the child of an immigrant. They claim the prevalence of discriminatory attitudes on the part of the dominant Anglo-Canadian group against those of minority ethnic origin, often forcing them to oscillate between two alternatives perceived to be mutually conflicting with each other: either the renunciation of one's heritage

as is to facilitate a higher degree of social mobility or the conscious retention and cultivation of one's cultural distinctiveness at the expense of a lower rate of social mobility.

Thus, multiculturalism is for the Ukrainian Canadian group a conscious rebellion against the forces of assimilation operative in the Canadian social system. The alternative it proposes is one of integrating the minorities into the overall political, economic and social

spheres of societal life, i.e.: those of social mobility or the conscious aspects of societies which pertain to all individuals regardless of their ethnic group affiliation — thus minimizing the importance of ethnicity in determination of opportunities for climbing up the social ladder while simultaneously enhancing the continuation and development community structures, etc.

However, the response of the current social, political and economic elites assume that the choice

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УКРАЇНСЬКІ ДИСИДЕНТИ ОРГАНІЗУЮТЬСЯ

Балтимор. — Дисиденти в Українській ССР намагаються організуватися у суцільну групу перший раз від багатьох років, щоб стимулювати там націоналістичні почування — інформувє в Москві почитий місцевий, "Сай" у спеціальній кореспонденції Майкела Паркса, надрукованій у виданні з 10-го грудня.

ДИСИДЕНТИ УКРАЇНИ ГРУПУЮТЬСЯ НАВКОЛО 10.10.ЮВОВОГО СТРАЙКУ ІСТОРІКА

Нашав Майкел Паркс
Московське Бюро "Ди Сан"

Москва. — Дисиденти в Українській ССР намагаються організуватися у суцільну групу перший раз від багатьох років, щоб стимулювати там націоналістичні почування.

На коротку мету, — згідно із поширюваним дисидентським маніфестом, — вони сподіються, що їхня агітація змусить Кремль призначити Україні, одній із 15-ти союзних республік, більшу політичну автономію.

На довшу мету, вони кажуть, що вони змагаються до незалежності — хоча, мабуть, соціалістичної — Української держави, яка була б четвертою найбільшою країною в Європі із населенням 50 мільйонів.

Дисиденти намагаються стимулювати анти-російські націоналістичні почування в Україні, розголосивши справу Валентика Мороза, 38-літнього українського історика, який від 1-го липня є на голодному страйку у Владимирській тюрмі.

Мороз, палкий український націоналіст, — згідно з повідомленнями дисидентів — є близький смерті у в'язничному шпиталі, хоча його насильно годують. Одні українські дисиденти тут казали: "З того, що ми знаємо, це вже тільки проблема часу. Власті розпачливо намагаються удержати його при житті. Вони знають, що він стане мучеником. Але це вже замало".

Друкуючи обіймки, що його — згідно з повідомленнями поширюються в Києві, Львові, Крайовому Розі, Закарпатті та в Харкові — називав Мороза "справжнім українським патріотом, який жертвує своїм життям, щоб його країна одного дня стала вільною" та закликає "українських патріотів прийняти виклик Мороза і боротися за волю".

Несяка програма

Програма групи остається досі неясною, при чому одна фракція пропонує публічні протести, інша — організацію незадоволених робітників у промислових районах, третя — формування руху інтелектуалів, щоб покласти підвалини під акцію в майбутньому.

Група є набагато краще організована, ніж зважаючи на всі ці розбіжності, від будь-якої досі дисидентської групи у Советському Союзі. Вона має, як видається, доступ до малої друкарської машини і також до фотокопіювальних машин. Видається також, що вона розвинула щось у році сітки по Україні з членами, які відважуються поширювати протестові листочки у більших містах.

Вістки про стан Мороза, доля якого набрала міжнародного розголосу у виступі акції українців в США, Канаді, Австралії і Західній Європі, є скупі. Найновіші вістки є, що його стан погіршується. Він почав свій заповздічний голодовий страйк до смерті, намагаючись дістати перекладання з Владимирської тюрми, яка є найгіршою у Советському Союзі, до табору праці. Він заявив, що він божеволіє у Владимирі.

Мороза засуджують на шість років ув'язнення та на три роки таборів праці і п'ять років заслання на Сибірі в 1970 році за "анти-советську" активність. Він вже відбув чотири роки у таборі праці під Києвом. 60-их років за "анти-советську пропаганду і агітацію", коли він виступив із засудженням "русифікації України".

Советська влада в останньому часті почала підводити на обвинувачення щодо стосування політичних репресій і жорстокості в випитку Мороза, після промовчання утворення кількох містків критики на Заході.

Маніфест, що його поширюється в друкованих та фотографічних копіях, закликає до неозабоченої близькості "ділової кампанії", щоб від-

вернути "багатобічні російські дусиля згасити життя в усьому, що українське".

"Вихід із Советського Союзу не є практичною метою на завтра" — продовжує маніфест, згідно із його перекладом, поставленим тут до розпорядження дисидентськими джерелами, — "але розгорнення протестатійної активності в Україні цілком певно переконає верховодів у Кремлі, що політична автономія є єдиним шляхом до владнання ситуації в Україні".

"Проте, вільна і незалежна Україна є розумною й можливою для досягнення остаточною метою, якщо ми тільки вже тепер організуємося. Україна може залучитись соціалістичною, але вона не має залишитись соціалістичною, бо це є різноманітним і поголошенням її Росією".

Маніфест появився вельді за виданнями, — як інформувало, — двома випусками підпільного "Українського вісника" минулої осені. який закликав до координованого протіпротієвського руху.

"Ми будемо намагаючись це більше об'єднати докору нашого органу всі демократичні, протіпротієвські групи в Україні" — твердив "Вісник". "Це є єдиний напрям, на якому ми передбачаємо поступ в шляху поширення боротьби за національну вільнозвільну і демократію".

Але дисиденти, які популяризують маніфест і листочки формату афіш, вважали, що вони становлять інакшу групу від цієї, що публікує підпільний "Український вісник", хоча тут і там є деякі ті самі члени.

"Ми намагаємося організувати зорганізовану як акцію групу, дискусійну організацію" — заявив один з авторів маніфесту тут в інтерв'ю. "Ми насправді не є певні щодо нішого успіху, бо влада намагається з допомогою тамешної поліції вже розбита і вже відбулася деякі ареш-

tion policy and certain realms of Canadian literature to find ample evidence of the doctrine of Anglo-Saxon superiority in practice.

It is necessary at this point to make the distinction between cultural and structural assimilation. While the former refers to the process of the absorption of the cultural behaviour patterns of the host-society, the latter signifies the process of permeation of the society's elite structures by the minority ethnic groups. While in Canada there has been a strong tendency towards cultural assimilation this has not been met with a corresponding rate of structural assimilation. The post-immigration minority ethnic, while having been socialized through the public educational system, the media and through his peer group relations, adopts the conventions of this over-all society into his own sub-community. In general, this has forced a return of these individuals to their respective communities where they take up prominent positions as community leaders. This containment on the periphery of these individuals has to a certain extent counter-acted

the assimilative processes within the Canadian society.

It can thus be demonstrated that the advent of the multicultural movement, proposed mainly by members of my own community, must not be viewed simply as a conflict between forces of cultural assimilation but rather the movement must be comprehended as the outcome of reciprocal determination and interaction between the previously mentioned conflict and society's inability to structurally assimilate all of its minority ethnic groups.

Multiculturalism as it stands presently does not seek to alter the structural foundations of the total social system but merely attempts to introduce reform within one particular dimension — treatment of its cultural minorities. It accepts the basic values engendered by a modern social system based on the capitalist mode of economic activity, i.e., the values of private enterprise, individualism and achievement.

If cultural pluralism is sufficiently legitimised, each individual's opportunities for social mobility would no longer be determined by ascribed characteristics, but by his abilities and achievements. The mode of appeal of the movement's leaders is an indication of the final aims of this policy. The nature of the movement's strategy is understandable in light of the failure to develop a more comprehensive analysis of the relationship between the social class structure and ethnicity and of the consequences of this relationship for any kind of political activity, (i.e. witness Quebec).

A study of the Ukrainian Canadian group is relevant at this point. Both from observation and from studies done on this group it is an 'accident' that participation in the multicultural movement and the community processes is confined to the upwardly mobile, middle-class, aspiring urban Ukrainian Canadian primarily of the first or second generation, although the percentage of third and fourth is increasing rapidly and living primarily in the East. This question can be resolved by examining the nature of the Ukrainian Canadian group Pre-WWII immigrants to Canada (of Ukrainian descent) were predominantly agrarian with relatively limited formal education. They had immigrated for purely economic reasons and settled in the prairie provinces. Few had developed an ethno-cultural consciousness.

With the increasing modernization of the Canadian society the language atrophied among their off-spring, and with the increasing urbanization the ethnic enclaves were eroded. What was left of these communities was held together by the churches, but the Catholic was

more interested in the maintenance of the religious faith to the extent that it often meant the loss of cultural identity. The inter-wave was slightly different. A larger proportion of these immigrants was more highly educated and had left Ukraine for political reasons. In reaction to the situation in Ukraine they were interested in evolving some form of community structures to protect their cultural and political interest, establishing schools, press and organisation. However, their offspring too, suffered a considerable degree of language loss and cultural assimilation.

It is the post-WWII Ukrainian emigre that has had the greatest vested interest in the multicultural movement. On the average more highly educated, more intensely nationalistic, feeling the impending threat of extinction of the Ukrainian nationality, they instilled into their children (more deeply than any previous emigration) a sense of responsibility for maintaining the Ukrainian national heritage and for working towards the liberation of Ukraine from Russian oppression. Political differences with previous waves of immigration coupled with the fact that the post war emigre tended to settle in the urban centres of Eastern Canada, engendered the East-West cleavage within the Ukrainian Canadian community, and subsequently hampered the development of a unified nationwide basis of support for the movement. It was not until the middle of the 1960's that the children of post-war immigrants started considering themselves Ukrainians and Canadians on an equal footing and that a rapprochement of sorts began with the previous generations.

It remains nevertheless important to note that as long as the main focal points of the movement within our community and thus multiculturalism remain minority languages and their role in the Canadian social system, the issue as a whole will remain a middle-class concern incapable of gathering much working-class support.

It is only when both our own community and the government realize: that an implementation of the policy of multiculturalism and hence the full development of institutionally complete communities involve both social and cultural problems; that the cultural problem is a social problem and vice-versa; and that the cultural question is as relevant to the factory worker as it is to the middle-class office executive — only then will we see a true development of the communities. In convincing the Ukrainian Canadian worker that his own social mobility is limited by cultural origins, his interest may be aroused. In providing services to him from the roots of his own community then there is a definite need created for him to return and develop his culture. But this as a strategy calls into the question the structural foundations of the entire society: it threatens the hegemony of the ruling elite in the Canadian community. It has become evident within the Ukrainian Canadian community that while we are highly organised on the middle-class levels in terms of political and cultural organisations, nevertheless we are lacking in the service area of organisations, such as day-care centres, and legal aid centres. If we as a community cannot cater to those members of our community who are in need, then is there any rationalization for the existence of this community? If the government cannot see that the road to a full development and implementation of multiculturalism lies in approaching the individual or the community from a socio-cultural perspective, then its goal-will in introducing the policy of multiculturalism is suspect.

Myron Spolsky

Continued from page 10

an individual's cultural distinctiveness is entirely and wholly an individual's decision. Such a voluntaristic conception fails to consider the significance of other concrete factors and social processes which, taken in their interaction with each other and with the collective desire to maintain the ancestral identity, all together help to explain the phenomenon of cultural pluralism.

Immigrants upon arrival in Canada were faced with the initial problem of linguistic and cultural isolation. This, combined with the need to continue their modes of community life, to further adhere to their religious and cultural institutions, organisations and communication in their mother tongue

drove them to settle in linguistically homogeneous ethnic enclaves so as to reduce the cultural shock and simultaneously to maintain their dislocated way of life. The degree of cohesion within the ethnic community and of its resistance to forces of assimilation is determined by such factors as: social class differentiation; variation in political orientations; life-styles and attitudes conditioned by the place of emigration; degree of geographic concentration; length of stay in the host-society; and frequency of interaction with other ethnic groups. Of paramount importance in this whole question of explaining the existence of cultural pluralism and hence the problems of the Ukrainian Canadian group is the re-

lationship between social class and ethnicity. The theses of the book by Porter and other similar links (Kohler, Balzell) serve as monuments to the discrimination of the ruling Anglo-Saxon elites in this society.

Only in the context of the historical development of the relationship between social class and ethnicity can one comprehend the fact of Anglo-Saxon hegemony. This group, having entrenched itself securely in positions of social control was able to channel society's resources towards the institutionalisation of its language; the maintenance and development of, and adaptation to its cultural behaviour patterns. One need only examine the history of Canadian immigra-



DISCUSSION PAPER ON UKRAINE

The following is a discussion paper on how to start actively participating in work on the question of Ukraine. This is not just meant as a discussion paper but as a primary reference source for each club to start working with. While it is the intention of this paper to be used with the end result that your club will participate on some form of work on the issue of Ukraine, it can and should also be used as a basis for the study of the development of Ukrainian National Consciousness both in Ukraine and in Canada. The two processes are very closely linked.

The purpose of this discussion paper is to propose an educational process for members of SUSK, by which we can involve ourselves in actions in defence of Soviet political prisoners. There are two possible paths to follow: one involving the organization of seminar sessions to develop among Ukrainian Canadian students an awareness of the former, base of our culture, the development of our culture in Canada, as well as the present situation in Ukraine and the U.S.S.R. in general. The repressive measures of the Soviet bureaucracy, both covert and overt, are threatening Ukrainians as a socio-economic unit, such as the one with which we identify to an extent. The second form of action is to plunge directly into defence work, and in this way allowing for the educational process to take its slow road.

The arguments against the first method is that for a period of seven to nine weeks, a group of individuals is considered incapable of doing work, but more importantly, that work which should have begun with the start of the school year, is being commenced only at the beginning of January (or even later) which is too late to raise the level of the campus community in general. The argument against the second method is that while it is true that individuals are doing concrete work in the field, they often lack knowledge of the situation, and have not rationalized in their own minds why they as individual Canadians must become affected in an action which seems to have little impact on the further growth of the Ukrainian Canadian community. Most important, the individuals may develop an irrational, emotional approach and understanding of the situation due to lack of knowledge, (such as is often exemplified by Ukrainian nationalist organizations). The ideal compromise on these two issues is to start with the latter process as soon as possible during the school year and gradually, towards the end of the formal educational process, start definite actions on the issue.

In order to achieve the necessary goals which we put forward for ourselves, it is imperative that we reach some form of understanding of the process of the development of the Ukrainian national consciousness, beginning with the early 19th century. (This would be the case with those groups or individuals who already have a basic grasp of what is a Ukrainian, what is a Ukrainian Canadian and, what ties we as Ukrainian Canadians have with Ukraine). In effect we are proposing two separate programmes (tailored to suit the needs of the listeners). The following is a seminar programme for the first group.

1) The roots of nationalism; the rise of Ukrainian national consciousness in the 19th century.

The main aim of this session would be to examine the initial national awakening and feeling of 'we-ness' as opposed to a simple economic-social argument which existed previously. The initial national awakening may be tied in with: Hetman Khmelnytsky's entrance into Kiev and the further development of the Hetmanate; the development of a social class structure in Ukraine with the top class being assimilated into the Russian national group. It becomes much more important to start detailing the initial uses of the Ukrainian language in literature (eg. Kotliarevsky, 'Aenied'), which eventually becomes a conscious political act — the overt and covert political, social and cultural repression by the tsar; the development of political ideologies, i.e.: the Brotherhood of Sts. Cyril and Methodius, Mykola Drahomanov, the Hromada (all of whom took federalism as a basic tenet). Then looking at Franko, Shchekavych, Baidushynsky, Melnyshyn, (all of whom took an independent view) One must study this in light of the political situations in those states: Russia being repressive, while Austro-Hungary being an enlightened monarchist system. One should examine the familial and personal backgrounds of the main actors and the issues they raised.

2) The movement of the nationally conscious elite into the political arena: Ukrainians as members of the Tsarist Dumas, and Austro-Hungarian Parliament, their respective impact on their own people, and the crystallization of two political lines for the future of Ukraine: federalism and independence.

3) The Ukrainian National Revolution of 1914-1920.

The final hurried developmental stage of Ukrainian national consciousness, initially among the middle classes and finally among the broader masses after the proclamation of the Fourth Universal; the rejection of Lenin and Trotsky; the inability of the Ukrainian Central Rada to seize territorial control at the opportune time; dependence on Germany and the Hapsburgs; the impact of the first modern Ukrainian state upon the future development of the national group; the

political, social and cultural positions of the UCR as opposed to the Western Ukrainian government and the Leninist government; personalities of individuals in the UCR with Lenin and others in his group; the progression from Hrushevsky's federalism to the notion of independence; the Hetmanate and the Directorate; the downfall.

4) Ukrainian National Consciousness: Theory in action 1918-1933.

The most important elements to examine are: the Ukrainization of the masses and their institutional development, the leaders such as Skrypnyk, Shumsky and Zolotovsky; the literary and academic leaders such as Khvylovy, Kurbas and Dovzhenko, and their disillusionment with Stalinist-Bolshevism.

5) The National Revolutionary Movements: Konovalets, Dontsov, OUN, UPA.

Why did the political ideologies of the leaders change from a social-national orientation to a strictly national orientation?; the organization of the Ukrainian Vyskova Organizational Unit under Konovalets; the political writings of Dmytro Dontsov; the formation of OUN in the '30's; the Bandera-Melnyk split; the 1943 re-orientation of OUN in Ukraine to the downfall of OUN and UPA in Ukraine; the last struggle of Hryniv and Paltava in 1952.

6) Khrushchev's de-Stalinization and its effect on the growth of dissent, Symonenko and his influence.

7) Ukrainian dissent in the '60's and the bureaucratic reaction.

8) Ukrainian dissent in an all Soviet perspective; the tendencies of political, social and cultural dissent in Ukraine and the outlook for the future.

Within the past three years, repressive measure (both covert and overt) have threatened Ukrainians as a socio-cultural unit, such as the one with which we identify. The interrogations, daily searches and arrests of countless numbers of private citizens have served the Soviet leadership as only one of its tools in fighting to take total control over Ukraine, and reducing (in this way) the number of variables with which the Soviet bureaucracy must contend with. Another element of the repressions is the forced migration of Ukrainians from the territory of the Ukrainian SSR to other areas, where they are engulfed in non-Ukrainian speaking populations consisting of similarly integrated peoples for whom the common linguistic denominator is Russian. There are no schools provided to teach their children in the respective native languages, nor are any services provided in any language other than Russian.

There is also a state-imposed migration of non-Ukrainians into the Ukrainian SSR for the supposed purposes of alleviating labour shortages. Figures show that the Ukrainian labour market is oversaturated, and that in many cases native Ukrainians are maintained at the lower strata of the work force. These who are willing to take on the attributes prescribed by the bureaucracy are assimilated into the general stream of the bureaucracy and as a result become tools in the oppression of Ukrainians and other nationalities. While the number of Ukrainians does not increase, the number of non-Ukrainians does not increase proportionally with this; new schools are being built to serve the non-Ukrainian population in Russian, and Ukrainian schools are transformed into Russian language schools in order to serve this need. This need is created not only by migration but also by the de-nationalizing process which takes place in the system. All elements of the institutional system in Ukraine also follow suit. In this way, the attack on the native socio-cultural ways heightens.

The third element of the covert repressions is the de-nationalization of the Ukrainian language through the injection of foreign words and the changing of the syntax, all at a time when the Ukrainian language retention is at its weakest. In this way the Ukrainian language loses its identity in comparison with the Russian language. It becomes easier to inject Russian words into the language. Thus in the end, the process of assimilation of the Ukrainian language into the Russian language becomes complete.

This form of treatment of Ukrainians can be mirrored in the treatment of all non-Russian socio-cultural groups in the USSR, with the worst treatment being levied against Ukrainians, Balts, Armenians and Georgians. This, coupled with the repression of members of the Asiatic nationalities, (by providing them with adequate schooling and not allowing them into positions of power, etc.) constitutes an effective tool for the simplification of the peoples of the USSR into one mass.

While it is very popular among Ukrainian nationalist groups in Canada to direct the emotions of Ukrainian Canadians against the Russian people, this is in fact only a means of simplifying the true villain: the Soviet system. In the leadership of the USSR one finds individuals from various nationalities who are as guilty of repressive measures as any of the Russians.

Among the most repressive bureaucrats in the Ukrainian SSR are the Ukrainians themselves. The contradictions of the Soviet state, which, (in the same breath)

promise equality and freedom of development to all individuals and nationalities, while repressing those who do attempt to develop themselves or their social culture, creates its own monster. It has also created various forms and tendencies of dissent.

The basis of attack upon the Soviet nationalities is considered as an attack upon the basic individual freedoms of speech, thought, political and religious persuasions. The arrests of individuals in both Ukraine and the other republics are motivated by a fear of independent thinking, as an opposition to the presently self-perpetuating status quo of individuals in both Ukraine and the other republics are motivated by a fear of independent thinking, as an opposition to the presently self-perpetuating status within the Soviet bureaucracy. The discrimination and suppression of the nationalities merits special consideration in our case. This is motivated by the consideration that the suppression of individual freedoms, (as in the case of Solzhenitsyn, Bukovsky, Ananik and others) is receiving adequate exposure though far from being adequate in terms of the repression committed by the Soviet bureaucracy.

On the other hand the suppression of the development of the nationalities as individual socio-cultural-economic units within the U.S.S.R. has not received adequate exposure, with the presently trendy liberal establishment of North America shying away from any issue which may be called nationalist, especially when it may hurt their own pocket. Yet, it becomes more and more evident from an analysis of the events in the U.S.S.R. that the questions of nationality and society (i.e.: social class) are indivisible, and that one cannot treat the former without treating the latter. As was pointed out above, the problem of the economic status of an individual in the system can be tied in directly to the individual's nationality or the ties expressed to it.

While the whole problem of repression of Ukrainians does not strike directly at the heart of the existence or development of the Ukrainian Canadian community, and the Ukrainian elements within our personal Canadianism alone do not in any way necessitate our actions in defence of dissident or our own position in Canada, (that of a basically unrecognized minority without explicit desire of the federal government to see to our further development) has certain parallels with the present situation in Ukraine.

For a long period, Ukrainian Canadians were covertly maintained at the lowest economic levels; treated as aliens; and incarcerated during World War I. (Even at the present time, we can regard the whole policy of multiculturalism as initially a placating token to the Ukrainian Canadians after Trudeau's visit to the U.S.S.R.) It is becoming increasingly evident that the granting scheme introduced by the government, i.e. giving money for short-term projects, steering the development of ethno-cultural groups into a dead end, and then withdrawing the money from individual groups who have become dependent on the money, could possibly provoke a collapse of an ethno-cultural community.

The comparison to the Ukrainian situation is clear: both groups are under pressures to assimilate and to become saturated with the monolithic conception of either Russophilism or Anglo-Canadianism (as a balance against the Québécois). Yet the severity of the measures in Ukraine, as well as in other parts of the U.S.S.R. raise the latter question to levels of injustices in an international form. While we in Canada have recourse to elections and a comparatively free and unbiased judicial system, their only recourse is dissent and revolution. A parallel can be drawn from the repression in the Soviet Union and Vietnam, Chile, Bangladesh, Palestine, Czechoslovakia or Black Africa. It is initially a question of individuals within the Ukrainian Canadian student body, who have an interest in the areas of defence of dissidents, to become a vanguard forum bringing the issue in as international perspective to both other Ukrainian Canadian students, and the Canadian society as a whole. The role of this group(s) must be, to present the case of the repressed nationalities, and to become more cognizant of the suppression in Ukraine and of Ukraine. I must suppress in Ukraine and of Ukraine. It must be pointed out that the issue of Ukraine is not only a Ukrainian confined only to that territory. The problem of Ukraine is international, and the problems are repeated in similar forms, both within the U.S.S.R. and other parts of the world where there are struggles for liberation. We cannot allow our involvement in this issue over-ride any other issue which confronts us.

Among the most ignorant in this case have been the academic elite of this country, who have either remained isolated in their ivory-towers, or have taken up on issues such as Soviet Jewry, Solzhenitsyn and others, treating them only in the non-committal humanitarian approach, and ignoring 95% of the problems within the Soviet Union. The Ukrainian Canadian student body, who for various reasons, (such as claims of non-interference in internal U.S.S.R. matters, claims of right-wing provocation against the East-West détente) have refused to become involved

"УКРАЇНСЬКИЙ ВІСНИК" ПРО СКВУ

У самвидавному журналі "Український Вісник" (випуск 7-8, весна 1974 р.), який не давно пред'явив через залізницю запитання на захід, в кількох місяцях з позитивним згадка про СКВУ. З цього видно, що наші брати і сестри в Україні покладати велику надію на СКВУ та на здібності палкої української спільноти у Відносно Світі діяти об'єднано, скоординовано та ефективно в користь України. Нашим обов'язком є подіяти, щоб наші брати і сестри на Рідних Землях не зневіряться у своїх оподіваннях.

Для прикладу подаємо викизу (без будь-яких змін) два окремі уривки з довшої статті п. и. "Етноцид українців в СРСР", яка поміщена в "Українському Віснику", випуск 7-8, із весни ц. р. Текст цих уривків ми одержали від Української Інформаційної Служби "Смолоскип", Балтімор, США

— Редакція

Уривок із сторінки 56-ої:

"В Нью-Йорку функціонує Вільна Українська Академія, відкрито факультет Українознавства в Гарвардському університеті, діють Вільний український університет у Мюнхені, Католицький університет в Римі, при якому відкрито Музей українського мистецтва.

Величкі успіхи в політичному і культурному розвитку досягли канадські українці. Вони широко репрезентовані як в провінційних, так і у федеральному урядові. Добра налагоджена культурно-освітня і виховна робота серед українського населення Канади, і, особливо, молоді. Тільки в провінції Манітоба створено 106 українських шкіл.

Величезну згуртовуючу і координуючу роботу проводить Світовий Конгрес Вільних Українців (підкреслення наше — Редакція).

Український народ поза межами своєї Батьківщини завоював собі пошану і визнання напольовитою відчайдушною працею. І всі ми глибоко вдячні тим народам, які співчутливо ставляться до нашої справи.

У наших гнобителів поступальні успіхи українців на еміграції викликають страшенну лють. Вони ні перед чим не зупиняються, щоб обрехати наші священні стремління. Отож, і починаються в советській пресі постійно вигадки на наших активістів, на українські організації про запроданство іноземним розвідкам і тому подібні нісенітніці.

А насправді ця праця викликана усвідомленням суспільного обов'язку перед своїм народом, турботою за долю українського народу".

Уривок із сторінки 102-ої:

"В цій праці на численних прикладах ми показали, як Москва "розв'язує" національне питання в СРСР, зокрема, на Україні. На демографічних даних ми розкрили суть національної політики російського більшовизму — планомірний етноцид неросійських народів в СРСР. Цілим рядом фактів ми заперечили твердження Л. Брежнєва і інших московських правителів про те, що національне питання в СРСР розв'язане і національної проблеми не існує. Характер наведених фактів злочинів допомагає зрозуміти, що советський режим — це фашистська диктатура (у формі соціал-фашизму).

Адресуємо цю працю Генеральному секретареві ООН Куртові Вальгаймові і закликаємо: 1. На черговій сесії Генеральної Асамблеї ООН розглянути питання про ліквідацію советського російського колоніалізму; 2. Створити спец. комісію ООН для перегляду всіх політичних закритих судових процесів в СРСР та інспекції в'язниць, концтаборів і спецпсихікарень, де перебувають політичні в'язні; 3. Прислати на Україну спостерігачів ООН на час підготовки виборів до Верховного Органу правління на Україні; 4. До проведення вищевказаних виборів на Україні надати право представляти інтереси українського народу в ООН Світовому Конгресові Вільних Українців.

5. Розповсюдити дану працю серед всіх членів ООН. Такі дії ООН, до яких ми закликаємо, не можна кваліфікувати як втручання у внутрішні справи. Така точка зору неправильна в самій основі, бо мова йде про імперіалістичну державу з найреакційнішим політичним режимом, про державу, в якій гнобляться десятки народів, проти яких здійснюється духовний і фізичний геноцид, де нависла реальна загроза цілковитого ліквідації національних культур і цілих народів, отже — здійснюється найбільший злочин проти людства. Нині ООН зайняла тактику примирення із статус-кво найбільшого зла. Доводиться констатувати парадоксальний факт: де Зло найбільше, там воно користується мовчазним схваленням з боку ООН.

Така позиція робить ООН пасивним співучасником того Зла, яке здійснюється в СРСР і може мати фатальні наслідки для всього людства.

Можливо, знайдуться такі члени ООН, які назвуть наші вимоги утопічними. Ми їм заявляємо, що не тішимо себе ілюзіями на račun того, що советський режим легко поступиться перед нашими вимогами і відмовиться від колоніальної та шовіністичної політики. Але широкий міжнародний осуд советського колоніалізму зробив би нам велику послугу в нашій овсященій боротьбі за Ідеали Свободи, а члени ООН рівночасно здали б з себе моральну відповідальність за теперішнє зловісне мовчання.

Український народ крізь віки проніс незалямований стяг боротьби за своє визволення.

Український народ за довгу свою історію не завоював ні клаптика чужої території, не зробив жодної спроби посягнути на свободу своїх сусідів, в умовах жорстокого поневолення зумів створити самобутню культуру, вніс свій посильний вклад в усьелюдську скарбницю духовних і матеріальних надбань.

Немає в світі такої сили, яка могла б скорити наш нескорений народ!"

Continued from page 12

that the Ukrainian nationalist organizations in Canada have presented a position which turns off more people than it turns on. Their positions are generally presented in chauvinistic, anti-Russian even anti-Semitic terms, countering the politics of the dissidents to their particular right-wing needs of recruitment. The issue has not really been brought to the general Ukrainian Canadian public, who is expected to wholeheartedly support the issue. Instead, one has been expected: to go to demonstrations; to listen to emotional speeches of the party fathers and not to question the dictates of above. Thus, the reaction of primarily the student body in this case has been to withdraw from this activity and to criticize the activity as being non-Canadian.

On the other hand, having been placed in this position (confronted with several political groupings on the right which use both the Ukrainian Canadian mass and the dissidents for their own purposes, while isolating all these individuals or groupings who attempt to present the issue in a different matter) we can organize a movement to open a vigorous debate both within the Ukrainian Canadian community and on the campus community on this issue without attempting to impose on the issue a political colouring, but presenting it as it presents itself. In this position, we as native born Canadians must impress the academic sector of this community as well as ourselves, that the case at hand is one of social justice, and in the same way that the Canadian government and concerned individuals have chosen to act in some way in support of the various struggles that have gone on in the past ten years around the world, so too must it take to the defence of nationalities in the U.S.S.R. The Canadian government must take steps in defending Soviet nationalities in the same way that it acted in support of the various struggles that have gone on in the past ten years.

It is proposed that actions on university campuses take the following steps:

1) Start the seminar sessions.
2) Form a working group-committee, not identifiable with the local Ukrainian Canadian students' club or SUSK so that it may be easier to attract membership from other ethnic-cultural groups, including English and French. In this way, too, the work of the clubs which are primarily concerned with the development of the Ukrainian Canadian community, is not over-ridden by defence work.

wanted: your poetry

3) Set up a literature table in a central location, with books and hand out information for people on the campus. Sell the books to support your future work. The books should be on all topics of dissent in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Involve passers-by in discussions on the question and know how to approach individuals with various political leanings.

4) Organize symposiums or seminars for the entire university community on the issue of dissent, alternating the topics between Ukrainian and those of other backgrounds. Present as many varying political interpretations on a given topic as is possible, i.e. invite a speaker from the left-wing, one from the center, and one from the right.

5) Fix to publish a regular bulletin, publicizing most recent events in the Soviet Union, and have a subscription list to it sending the bulletin to various political newspapers including the Ukrainian press.

These points constitute what can be considered to be a plan for the development of long-term actions in defence of political prisoners. It is necessary to remember that the educational process must repeat itself that there are always new faces on the university campus each year who must go through the same process as was done initially.

Myron Spolsky
President, SUSK
Toronto, October, 1974

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KOBZA

The festival of Kupalo was the celebration of the beginning of the harvest. It was a rite in which the participants masqueraded, masking themselves with plants, the lighting of fires, the singing of songs referring to Kupalo, and the leaping through the fire. The festival began with the rite of evoking Kupalo, who had wintered in the forest and summered in the grass.

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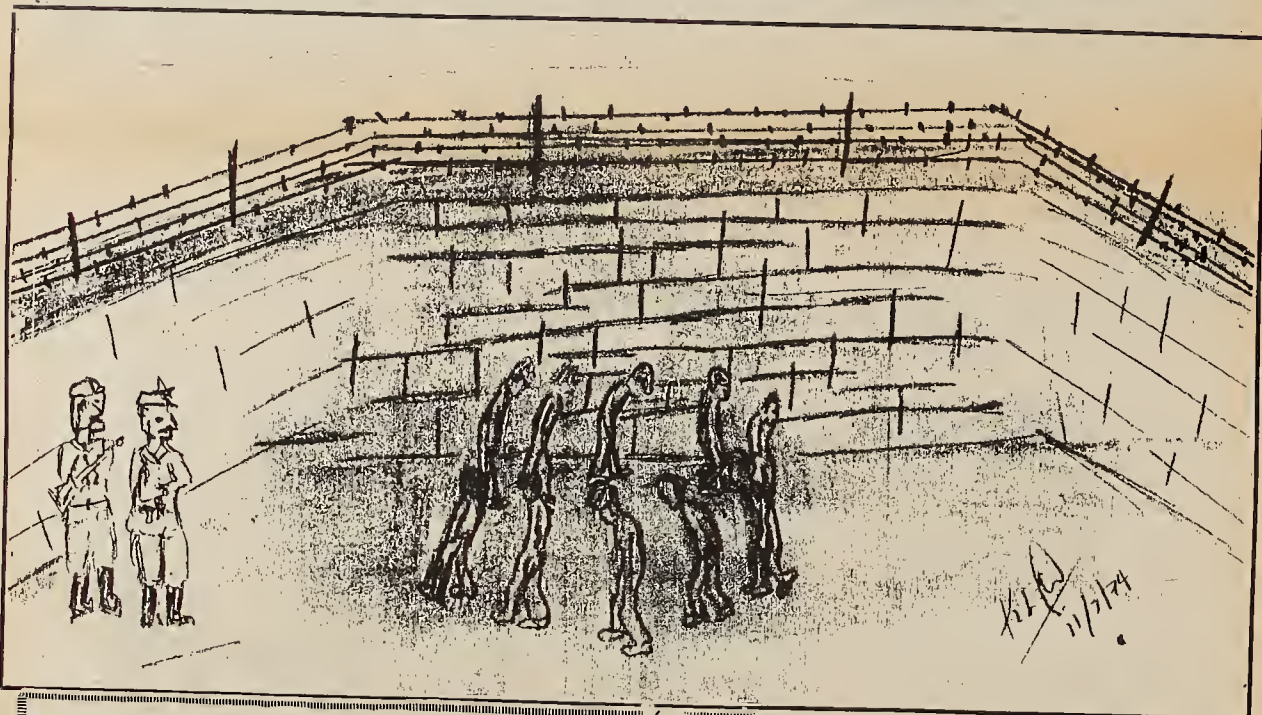
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You have a chance to try out what you've learned at each workshop. You are sent out into the street with a portapak to shoot pictures. You return and play back what you've shot for comment and further instruction.

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Lubov Hutsaliuk "R. Writing" - India ink Любо Гущалюк

western conference

In the past six years, through the involvement in the issue of multiculturalism, and because of an increasing awareness of the position of the Ukrainian Canadian community, SUSK has been in the forefront of initiating community development programmes (summer fieldwork, community cable-casting, etc.)

While the projects themselves have been inventive, nevertheless, we find that Ukrainian Canadian communities, (both in larger centres and in the rural communities), have lost contact with the ever-increasing areas of development and interest of a small elite within the Ukrainian Canadian community. While certain sectors of the community have developed to a great degree and have been able to use those resources granted recently by the Federal and Provincial Governments, most of the community has remained unaware of this and, as a result, has not maintained the necessary developmental process in the evolution of a Ukrainian Canadian socialization process and thus the Ukrainian Canadian community.

It has been SUSK's role in the past to reach to the broadest spheres of the community. We must do this again this year. The aim of the Western SUSK Conference will be to develop an awareness among SUSK membership of the means and need for active involvement in community development with the goal that during the summer of 1975, much of this knowledge can be brought to practical use across the country.



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Saskatoon March 8 - 9, 1975.

Saturday, March 8

9:00 a.m. - 10:00 a.m. -

Registration

10:00 a.m. - 12:00 p.m. -

Opening: chairperson - Sheila
 Slabodzian, Western Vice-President

The role of community development
 - proposed speaker - Bohdan Popowycz

- SUSK and Community development
 in the Ukrainian Canadian community - speaker - Myron Spolsky,
 SUSK President.

12:00 p.m. - 1:00 p.m. -

LUNCH

1:00 p.m. - 3:30 p.m. -

The power of social animation: two examples - Prof. Zenon Pohorecky, on Canadian Indians; Mr. Myron Kuropas, Action - USA on Ukrainian Americans.

3:30 p.m. - 4:00 p.m. -

Coffee break

4:00 p.m. - 7:30 p.m. -

The methodology of Saul Alinsky: a presentation of films on Saul Alinsky, and discussion led by Richard Harmon, Director of the Industrial Areas Foundation, Chicago, Illinois.

7:30 p.m. - 8:30 p.m. -

DINNER

Sunday, March 9 1975.

11:00 a.m. - 12:00 p.m. -

SUSK 1975: Perspectives, Plans, Problems.

12:00 p.m. - 2:00 p.m.

Club news and perspectives.

end of conference.